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COMMENT

PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND ERNEST BEVIN

No. We are not making that comparison. We are making another. The Kennedy Administration has now reached the same critical point which the post-war Labour Government had to face in the autumn of 1945, when it had to decide between embarking on a new-type socialist foreign policy or accepting the unchanging values of Britain's traditional interests. As we now know—and none more so than the Israelis, the Egyptians and the Spaniards—the Labour Government concluded that British interests demanded adherence to the traditional policies; and from that it was only a short step for Ernest Bevin to become the most energetic of the statesmen who opposed the Russians in the Middle East and in Europe—far more so than the Americans.

These are facts. Whether Bevin and his colleagues were right and his socialist critics wrong, remains a matter for research and politics. But what, with Kennedy in mind, we must not overlook, is that Bevin acted the way he did because of the massive pressure which reasons of state placed on him. It is not only the view of the political countryside that is changed fundamentally when surveyed from the summit of power, but also the whole outlook and attitude of the climber undergoes complete transformation when he finally reaches the top. Everything looks different and is different from what it was when he was still struggling upwards.

* * *

It is this that is also happening to Kennedy now. The last few weeks have vividly demonstrated it. It is therefore patently pointless to look up what Kennedy wrote in 1956 or what he said in 1960 before he was elected. Kennedy's text, like Bevin's before him, is not the record of his past declarations, but the men and the problems he has to meet and match today. We know from the President's talks in Paris and in Vienna, and from his encounter with Mr. BenGurion, that Kennedy and his advisers have lost none of their fervour for taking the initiative in pacifying the principal areas of conflict in the world today.

If we look more closely at the Middle East we can already discern some important new trends. From Washington, or rather from the President, came the suggested formula for a settlement of the Arab refugee problem; and there was an immediate and under-

standing response from Mr. Ben-Gurion who, despite his age, seems to be closer to the Kennedy outlook than most of the younger men in Israel and in the Arab world. It was a fortunate opportunity that this was so, and it may become a significant milestone on the road to a Middle East settlement.

It becomes all the more important because of the astonishing exchange of words (it is nothing more so far) that has broken out between the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic. It is clear from the detailed report on this (which begins on page six) that it is neither a storm in a teacup, nor a form of Macchiavellian collusion between Kruschev and Nasser, but the result of genuine and serious differences which are growing, not lessening. At the same time it would not do to over-state them. President Nasser is still receiving Soviet aid at the rate of about a million dollars a day. His armed forces are still completely dependent on Soviet supplies, Soviet equipment and Soviet-trained specialists. The High Dam project is firmly and almost completely under Soviet control.

* * 3

But there can be no half-hearted differences between the two parties; they cannot attack each other with words and continue to collaborate in fact. The one or the other will have to stop; and either way it will produce a major upheaval in Middle Eastern politics —it may well mark the end of the era of Nasser-Kruschev collaboration which began in earnest with the Czech arms deal in September 1955.

President Nasser may be broken by Kruschev after what may well develop into a violent political campaign against the new neutralism sponsored by Nasser and Tito; or Kruschev may have to admit his inability to carry the day against Nasser (who is now nothing like as strong as he was two years ago) and the neutralist combination which is to meet in Yugoslavia on September 1. Until then, we shall no doubt witness one of the most intense political struggles in the Middle East, of which the lines are not yet firmly drawn. It will show the true nature of neutralism: whether it is real or fake.

President Kennedy (and the Israelis) will have to consider this prospect and their reactions to it seriously. In the old days, traditional American diplomacy would have rushed to try and buy Nasser with gestures of aid (and fail, of course) and the Israelis would have welcomed anything which spelt trouble for Nasser. But this is now the age of the new diplomacy. The Americans (and the Israelis) would be wise not to rush into this Nasser-Kruschev clash until they are certain just what is involved. For the stakes may be very high, and the opportunity far better later than now.

ISRAEL

ARCHBISHOP'S PLAN FOR REFUGEE SOLUTION

"THEY WILL NOT WANT TO RETURN"

Archbishop George Hakim, leader of Israel's 20,000-strong Greek Catholic community and a powerful influence not only among Israel's Arabs but also with those Palestinians now living in neighbouring countries, predicted this week that if Israel were now to offer financial compensation for property abandoned by the refugees it would mark the beginning of a final settlement.

Speaking in Haifa to a representative of the *Jerusalem Post*, Archbishop Hakim revealed that about 20 per cent of the refugees are in fact already resettled—some in the U.S. and Canada, others in Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. They realised, he said, that they would never return to their former homes.

"If Israel were now to offer them financial compensation for the property they left behind, their enmity will vanish", he stated. At the same time, however, he believed that they should be offered the alternative of returning to Israel, even though this was an offer "which they will certainly not accept".

Military government "not serious problem": Those accepting compensation, he suggested, should be required to waive all further claims. On this basis, he believed, a considerable number of refugees would accept a settlement. But

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EDITOR: JON KIMCHE

EDITORIAL: 100 Salisbury Sq. House, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4 FLEET STREET 3349

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 Cover: Egypt's Foreign Minister Fawzi opens the Preparatory Conference of the "non-aligned states" in Cairo last week.

-Photo Keystone

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even if only a dozen accepted immediately, it would be the beginning of a final settlement.

Reviewing the situation of Israeli Arabs, the Archbishop, who has very close relations with the Vatican, said that the question of military government was no longer a serious problem. Restrictions had been eased to such an extent that, except in remote border villages, they were no longer felt very much. He had grounds for hoping that a further easing would follow.

Calculation for Mapai: But, said the Archbishop, the question of the proposed Land Consolidation Act and the problems of land expropriations were vexing the Arab community and would play an important part in their election thoughts. All the parties, even those in the Government, blamed Mapai for this law, declared the Archbishop.

[The Land Consolidation Act is a follow-up measure to the Land Acquisition Law of 1953 which provided for the restitution or the payment of indemnity, in land or cash, for previously abandoned Arab lands taken over by the Government or Army for purposes of development or security. The lands in question totalled 305,000 acres; by July 31, 1960, compensation had been paid in respect of only 22,720 acres. An official survey showed that 3,500 Arab farmers had not yet been rehabilitated.]

Feeling on this question, said the Archbishop, might spoil the chances of a Mapai-affiliated list in his community of about 8,000 voters. In the last elections there was such a list, which received the active support of the Archbishop.

Arabs and Eichmann: Questioned by the Jerusalem Post correspondent on the effect the Eichmann trial had been having on the country's Arab population, Archbishop Hakim said they had been shocked and upset by the enormity of Nazi crimes against the Jewish people which were far beyond anything they had imagined. However, he believed that if Eichmann were found guilty it would be contrary to the spirit of Israel and the Bible to execute him. "After Israel has explained its case, I believe he should be handed over to Germany, or one of the other countries in which he was active, for punishment".



"REFUGEES WOULD ACCEPT SETTLEMENT"

Archbishop Hakim and Pontifical delegate,

Monsignor King

LIBERALS' ARAB PROGRAMME

LAVON HEADS FOR EUROPE

from Amos Ben-Vered

Jerusalem:

Making its first sortie into an Arab village, the Liberal Party found itself bombarded with questions about the Lavon Affair, the price of vegetables, the refugee problem and a host of other issues.

Party spokesman Mr. Cohen-Zidon gathered an audience of 300 in the village square at Taiba in the "little triangle." Most of them were youths and none of the women of the village put in an appearance. Cohen-Zidon's main plank was a promise of Arab-Jewish equality, including the abolition of military government in border areas. Two Arab members of the Liberal Party, one a school-teacher, the other a journalist, also addressed the gathering.

Arabs, more specifically Arab refugees, featured in a number of weekend meetings held by the Liberals and Herut who attacked Prime Minister Ben-Gurion for his seeming readiness to compromise in order to secure a solution of the refugee question. The Liberal's Haim Levanon, a member of the Jewish Agency Executive, said that Ben-Gurion had proposed similar steps to those already advocated by Dr. Nahum Goldmann. He could not understand why Ben-Gurion should make "extremist" foreign policy

statements at home, and then make concessions abroad.

Dayan's warning: Herut leader Menahem Beigin, speaking in the air-cooled "Tel Aviv" cinema, which might have had something to do with the fact that it was packed out (we are now in the middle of a 90 degrees plus heat wave), said that Ben-Gurion's attitude on the refugee question had been "an invitation to pressure". There were only two answers to the problem, he asserted. One was that the refugees could not be admitted into Israel and the other that, when the "unification" of Israel was some day brought about, the refugee problem would find its solution.

Moshe Dayan, also speaking in Tel Aviv, warned that Jordan was about to take fifty per cent of the waters of the River Jordan for herself, as had been envisaged in the Johnston Plan. The Arab states, however, were planning to deprive Israel of her share by diverting the river close to its sources in Syria. Israel had to prevent this by immediately utilising the water of the Jordan and thus establishing her usage as a fact.

Dayan also urged that fresh energy be applied to completion of the Jordan-Negev water pipeline. It would be completed, he said, by the winter of 1963-64, by which time a rationalisation in the use of the country's water resources would enlarge them by a third.

Mystery tour: Altogether, there were some sixty election rallies over the weekend, but most of them were poorly attended because of the unprecedented hot spell, unequalled for a generation.

Many who would not otherwise envy Pinhas Lavon were covetous of his good fortune when, on Tuesday morning, he departed these sun-baked shores for a three to four week visit to Europe. He was accompanied by his wife and his aide, former Histadrut spokesman Levi Itzhak Hayerushalmi. Lavon was bound for Brussels and Hayerushalmi for Amsterdam but both will go on to other European countries.

Although Mapai circles explained Lavon's visit to Europe as being connected with publication of Lavon's biography, which has been written by Hayerushalmi, others believe that he has gone to prepare for some kind of political comeback, just as his sojourn in Switzerland preceded the launching of the campaign which resulted in his ousting from the Histadrut and the fall of the government.

Lavon was seen off by a group of supporters who said that he would probably have meetings with trade union and socialist leaders in various countries. The mystery was deepened by the theatrical announcement issued by Hayerushalmi at Lydda Airport: "A decision on the trip was taken only a few days ago. You will know the reason for it when we come back".



SHARETT
Another omission?

THE CASE OF THE MISSING WITNESS

BRAND'S CHARGES REFUTED

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem:

Although the Eichmann court is now in recess for one week to allow the defence to prepare its case, a last-minute unexpected and explosive intervention has come from Moshe Sharett who, as head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency in 1944, interviewed Brand in Aleppo on his arrival from Budapest. Sharett, who helped the prosecution select documents from the Jewish Agency files, revealed that although he had offered to testify on the Hungarian episode, he had not been called for by the prosecution.

"Sheer nonsense": Some of the testimony given to the court on the fate of Hungarian Jewry contained various inaccuracies and false interpretations, he declared. And, in an interview with the New York Times, he denied that he had ever been told by Brand that the Germans said they would blow up Auschwitz. He also dismissed as "sheer nonsense"

Brand's charge that Zionist officials had not fully grasped the situation.

At the court hearing on May 31, Brand was cross-examined by defence counsel Dr. Robert Servatius on what he had told Sharett. Servatius put it to Brand that he had previously said that, in his meeting with Sharett in Aleppo, he did not mention to him that the installations at Auschwitz were to be blown up.

Brand replied: "I do not think I said that. I think I have said it. I do not know . . . but that was why I had come. I cannot imagine that I have not mentioned it. . . ."

Five thousand or a hundred thousand? Another contradiction, and one probably much more fateful in the adverse result of the negotiations, was that Sharett, in his report to the Jewish Agency of his conversation in Aleppo with Brand, quoted him as saying that Eichmann had told him: "As soon as you come back with an acceptance, we are prepared to release, say, five thousand of the people, without waiting for any consideration, just to show good faith. Other transports would be quid pro quo."

Judge Halevy intensively questioned Brand about this contradiction, recalling that in his previous day's testimony he had said he had full confidence in Sharett's record of the conversation and yet he, Brand, had said Eichmann offered to release 100,000 Jews as a first measure. Servatius, too, joined in this questioning. Brand's explanation was that a British officer was present at this meeting and were he to have mentioned the figure of 100,000 Jews to be released, the British "might have become suspicious."

Judge Halevy pressed his questioning the following morning. "If you were not afraid to tell Sharett in the presence of British officers that the deal concerned the liberation of one million Jews, why were you afraid to tell him that the first step was the liberation of 100,000?" To this Brand replied: "I am convinced that I said the Germans would make the first step and liberate the Jews. . . ." Halevy interjected: "This is no answer to my question."

Brand: "They will release five thousand, ten thousand, a hundred and twenty thousand, a hundred thousand— I bargained with myself."

Commission sought: In this last sentence may yet be found the clue to a mystery which has aroused passions and bitterness in Israel and outside it for the past fifteen years. The plea by a group of Hungarian survivors for a special commission to investigate fully the last days of this community has so far fallen on deaf ears. This may yet prove the only way of establishing the truth.

MIDDLE EAST

PALESTINIANS GIVEN THEIR HEAD DECISIONS OF ARAB DEFENCE COUNCIL

from our special Middle East correspondent Robert Gee

There was only one topic on the agenda when the Arab Foreign and Defence Ministers, comprising the Defence Council of the Arab League, met in Cairo at the weekend: Palestine.

This topic was subdivided into three main headings: co-ordination of replies to the letter addressed by President Kennedy on a Palestine settlement to certain Arab leaders; planning of tactics to be followed by Arab nations at the U.N.; and the taking of a joint decision on the recommendations presented by the recent conferences of the Arab Chiefs of Staff and the Palestine Experts' Commission of the Arab League.

The Defence Council meetings were held behind locked doors and under conditions of extreme secrecy. Nevertheless, conversation with the participants yielded enough to indicate that the Council's approach to its tasks lay along the lines of creating a body representative of all Palestinians, to be backed by its own armed force and to be supported by the signatories of the Arab Security Pact and, to the degree that it could be achieved, by the participants in the forthcoming conference of non-aligned states.

Absolved from blame: This is the formula which was worked out by the Experts' Commission. They recommended its adoption in order to block what they termed in their report a "conspiracy" to liquidate the Palestine problem once and for all at the autumn meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

It is a cunning formula in that, while retaining full control of Palestine developments in the hands of the Arab states, it places responsibility and, consequently, any blame for direct action on the shoulders of the Palestinians themselves. It also leaves the individual Arab states free to follow their own Palestine "line" at home.

The big unknown remains the form of the "body representative of all Palestinians". The U.A.R., Saudi Arabia and Iraq favour the formation of a Palestine Government, but the latter has definite views on who should and should not be included in that government. Jordan has strong reservations about the word "government" and will oppose any move which might suggest infringement of her claim to the west bank of the Jordan.

Undercurrent of mistrust: This first major difference revealed in the Cairo discussions is a vital one, but not the only one. At the earlier meeting of the Palestine Experts' Commission there were already indications of an undercurrent of mistrust which has, so far, gone unexplained. It was assumed, for example, that President Kennedy had sent letters to five Arab leaders, King Saud, President Nasser, President Shehab of Lebanon, King Hussein and General Kassem.

When the Experts' Commission came to consider them, however, they found they only had copies of the letters to the first three. The representatives of Jordan and Iraq were unable to confirm whether or not copies of the Kennedy letter had been received in Amman and Baghdad. When Lebanon broadened the discussion to attack the U.A.R. for excluding it from the conference of non-aligned countries, the old question came up as to whether they were working with each other or against each other.

In the Defence Council, the Jordan Foreign Minister tactfully raised the question of a meeting between King Hussein, King Saud and Nasser. This had been mooted for some time. There had even been reports that the arrangements had been completed. But the response the Jordanian was able to raise from the U.A.R. was non-committal.

For better or worse: The activist states sulked over the failure of the Arab League commission to amend the League's Charter so as to make majority decisions fully binding on all, but there were many who were glad that the Tunisian draft amendment, seeking a wide liberalisation of the League, was rejected out of hand.

But these were only subsidiary considerations to the sole agenda item of Palestine. If the "usually well-informed quarters" are to be believed there was unanimous approval of every recommendation put forward by the Palestine Experts' Commission (which included suggestions for the handling of the Palestine issue at the U.N. and a tightening of the economic boycott of Israel) and the Arab Chiefs of Staff (concerning both offensive and defensive measures against Israel).

By mid-week, the question of how the



LEBANON'S PALESTINE EXPERT FOUAD AMMOUN

An undercurrent unexplained

Palestinians should be represented to the outside world was still undecided but, all of a sudden, the realisation had dawned on Arab commentators that, for better or worse, the Palestinians were to be given responsibility for their own problem.

Palestine at Bled: The Defence Council's recommendations are now before the Heads of State for their approval. In the meantime, the U.A.R. has succeeded in getting the preparatory conference of non-aligned states to agree to the inclusion on its agenda of an item regarding implementation of U.N. decisions, This is obviously a tactic to enable the Arab participants to raise the issue of the Palestine refugees.

The full agenda of the conference has been agreed as follows:

1. Exchange of views on the international situation.

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- Problems of uneven economic development in the world and the consolidation of world economic and technical co-operation.
- 4. Other matters.
- 5. Conference communique.

The conference opens in Bled on September 1, if present plans are adhered to. It seems clear that each of the more than thirty states expected to attend will want to speak on almost every one of the topics listed on the agenda.

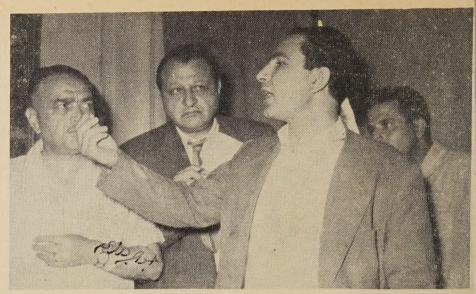
KRUSCHEV CRACKS THE WHIP

ORDERS COMMUNISM NOT NATIONALISM FOR ARAB WORLD

Moscow has evidently set out to destroy the conference of non-aligned states due to be held in Yugoslavia during September, for which invitations have been issued jointly by Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic, and to collect "payment" from the U.A.R. for the economic and political support provided by the Soviet Union.

The campaign launched from the Soviet Union a few weeks ago and now in full swing clearly has two distinct aims:

¶ to demonstrate that not only are there no political ties between the Soviet Union and the U.A.R. but that the U.A.R. is following a political course in opposition to the Soviet Union; and



FRAUD OR FACT?—ONE CAIRO ANSWER TO MOSCOW

Syrian communist Adib Turk, reported by the Russians to have been murdered, appears before newsmen in Damascus

¶ to make it crystal clear to nonaligned states which might have thought they could participate in the Yugoslav conference without incurring the wrath of the Soviet Union that, on the contrary, they will be associating with two countries regarded with hostility by the Kremlin.

Call on Kruschev: The Kremlin offensive was launched in a small way in the very early spring when the non-alignment conference was first mooted, but it was not until a U.A.R. parliamentary delegation visited Moscow in May that Prime Minister Kruschev gave the green light for the campaign which has now captured the Middle Eastern headlines and is watched with growing interest throughout Africa and Asia.

It was on May 3, that the U.A.R. delegation, nearing the end of its visit, called on Kruschev in the Kremlin. The Soviet leader told them, in what at first promised to be a standard version of his greeting and blessing for visiting friendly politicians, that the relations between their two countries were good and that, "as much as we can, we aid you in your struggle to bolster your economy and establish your national sovereignty."

Into the trap: "We progress and lead you with us." But, he noted, the U.A.R. said it did not want communism.

"Never mind. We are not angry. In

the future you will find that we are right . . . You have been liberated. Nationalism emanates from your hearts, but this does not mean that happiness lies in nationalism. Nationalism is not the pinnacle of happiness. Happiness occurs when all nations are happy."

Warming to his well prepared theme, the Soviet leader went on: "You may think that I want to transform you from Arab nationalists into communists. Naturally, I do not propose to do this now. But I feel that some of those present here will be communists in the future, because life imposes itself upon man. Communism consists of ideas and ideas cannot be buried in prisons . . ."

U.A.R. spokesmen, he noted, said they sought socialism. But they did not know much about the socialism that led to communism. If they wanted socialism, then they must not say they were averse to communism. "You are placing yourselves in a critical position and have fallen into the imperialist trap," he warned.

Reply was shelved: It was a much sobered delegation that returned home to Cairo. Anwar Sadat, its leader and President of the National Assembly, immediately reported to the President. Nasser decided that the remarks of Kruschev could not be allowed to go unanswered and, on his instructions, Sadat drafted a reply. But then it was shelved.

The U.A.R. Embassy in Moscow re-

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ported that Kruschev's remarks had not been reported either in the local Soviet press or in its overseas radio services. It looked as if Moscow wanted to forget all about it.

Kruschev, however, was not content to leave it at that. Soviet officials in Moscow began to "leak" snippets of his speech to other foreign diplomats. The Soviet propaganda offensive was renewed with increased vigour. At this point, Nasser decided that Sadat's reply should be dispatched without further delay.

What did he mean? First of all, stressed Sadat, the attitude of the U.A.R. toward communism was restricted to its own country and was generated by the attitude adopted by the communists towards the National Revolution.

On the issue of socialism as the straight road to communism, Sadat pointed out "that the October Revolution has so far spent forty-three years trying to achieve its results, while the Arab revolution began only eight years ago." However, Sadat hoped Kruschev's comment that he did not propose transforming Arab nationalists into communists "now" would also apply to the future "and that the word 'now' was only used figuratively without having any literal meaning."

In a furious paragraph, masked only by the diplomatic language in which it was couched, Sadat stated:

"We do not believe that prisons can make people discard their ideas. Perhaps one of the most cherished characteristics of our national revolution is that even under the most difficult circumstances it preserved its white nature. If the measures adopted by our revolution were to be compared with measures adopted by other revolutions for the protection of their aims, it would become evident that our ideas cannot be fought by prisons and bloodshed."

Final insult: Sadat defended Arab nationalism and trounced capitalism, but refused to accept that communism was applicable to the conditions prevailing in the Arab world. Imperialism had always fallen into the error that capitalism and communism are the only alternatives for each other.

"From this point, imperialism used to attack the policy of non-alignment which we pursued in the international field and which is, in fact, a true reflection of our national beliefs." Sadat had given Kruschev the final insult. From there on, there was no holding the Soviet propaganda offensive.

In a broadcast lecture for the Arab world, Moscow radio pointed out that the proletariat of the Arab world was a new class and comparatively small in numbers. Of the 90 million Arab people, workers numbered only $2\frac{1}{2}$ million, half

of whom lived in Egypt and Syria.

New phase in Arab life: The working class had, in the past, been held back by the foreign monopolies which did not want to see the development of national industries. They had obstructed the training of technicians. But, recently, the situation had been changing.

"The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have begun to help the Arab countries in this vital field; and with this assistance scores of industrial undertakings are being started in the U.A.R.,



YOUSSEF EL-SEBAI Cairo's Afro-Asian "organiser"

Iraq and the other Arab countries. This is in addition to the High Dam, which is a gigantic hydrotechnical project. Soviet experts are helping the Arabs to form cadres of engineers, technicians and various types of specialised workers. The Arabs study while working in their own countries and also in Soviet schools and higher institutes."

Thus, a new stage in the life of the Arab working class had begun. Its numbers were increasing, its part in the political struggle had become more important and it was setting an example to all the forces opposed to colonialism and feudalism in modern Arab society.

Reactionary Arab forces: But, noted Moscow, in their struggle to improve their working conditions and for their right to form trade unions, the proletariat of the Arab countries were coming up against reactionary forces which sought to obstruct by every means possible the formation and expansion of workers' organisations and parties.

Various kinds of opportunist theories were being spread which said that, now that the Arabs had achieved independence, the role of the trade unions had

ended. It was also alleged that classes and the class struggle in the Arab countries were disappearing. But the purpose of these doctrines was to weaken the classconsciousness of the workers and divert them from the struggle for Arab unity.

157 attacks: Cairo's reaction to this and similar attacks from the Soviet Union has been vigorous rejection.

By the end of last week, it was estimated that major Soviet newspapers and Moscow's broadcasting service had launched 157 separate attacks on the U.A.R. Replies from Cairo and Damascus must have totalled something like three times that number.

Slow-down on aid: The Soviet Union's campaign of pressure has not, however, been confined to a verbal barrage. For months, President Nasser has been pressing for the supply of Mig 19 and Mig 21 jet fighters to match Israel's Mystère and Mirage aircraft.

So far, only a token shipment of Mig 19s has been made and no Mig 21s have been received at all. Elsewhere, for example in the construction of the Aswan Dam, there has been a slow-down in the Soviet effort and the project is running way behind schedule.

"THIRD FORCE" HOPES REMOTE

To date, Nasser has shown no sign of giving in to the Russian pressure. Plans for the conference of non-aligned states are going ahead (though the choice of Bled and not Cairo for its setting was a surprise to some).

The preparatory conference was attended by representatives of 22 countries. During their private discussions, there were some heated exchanges about the definition of a non-aligned country.

Archbishop Makarios had something to say about the exclusion of Cyprus when he visited Cairo last week. The Algerians put in an official claim to representation. This was put to the vote and was supported by ten votes to one.

No more pretence: With more countries bound to be invited, if only to maintain the participation of those already included, the conference seems destined to become a marathon talking match. Its prospects of setting the course for a "Third Force" seem remote.

It is this fact which may yet lead to a quietening of the row now raging between Moscow and Cairo. But, even if this should happen, there can no longer be pretence on either side that it is a relationship "without strings." Moscow has served notice that it intends, sooner or later, to collect its debt for its support of the Nasser regime.

IN THE NEWS

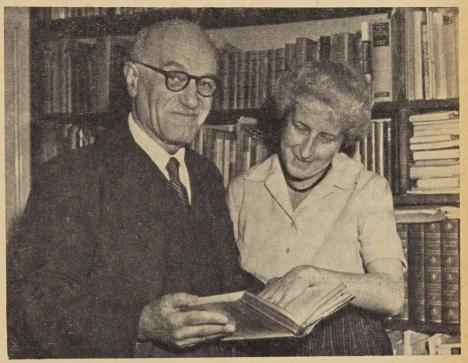
A GREAT EDITOR

ROBERT WELTSCH celebrates his seventieth birthday on Tuesday. This is something more than the usual septuagenarian occasion. For Weltsch has contributed more to current Jewish attitudes than almost any Jew alive, and it is not his fault that the high standards which he has set throughout his public life have not always been maintained by those who followed him. It is inevitable, of course, that one should begin with his famous editorial in the German Zionist weekly, Die Jüdische Rundschau, on April 4, 1933. "Wear it with pride, the yellow patch," he demanded from the German Jews. Don't hide the fact that you are a Jew, don't be ashamed and don't be afraid. This was not a courageous gesture nor an act of bravado. Weltsch was not the man to act in this way. It had a far deeper meaning which we can fully appreciate only now, in the wake of the Eichmann trial.

Weltsch knew the Germans and he knew the German Jews. He sensed intuitively back in April 1933 that the object of the Nazi drive was above all to humiliate and break the spirit of the Jews who were at their mercy. And this was Weltsch's response: whatever happens, he urged in effect, keep your personal dignity; refuse to grovel to the Nazis, for that is what they want. And Weltsch's advice was remembered with gratitude by thousands in their hour of greatest humiliation.

NO SURRENDER TO PRESSURE

But this was only one side of Weltsch. He has many others. Probably next in importance comes the role which he played as editor of the organ of the German Zionist Organisation. He was not content to become merely the sounding board for the conflicting voices that made up German Zionism after the first World War, to remain the dull and uncommitted voice of officialdom. He was second only to Weizmann himself in evolving the remarkable alliance between the liberal intelligentsia and progressive bourgeoisie of continental Europe and the Zionist labour movement in Palestine. Supported loyally by Kurt Blumenfeld and protected by him against his attackers, Weltsch, and the Jüdische Rundschau, became in fact the theoretician of Weizmannism, and much more than that.



ROBERT WELTSCH AND HIS WIFE AT HOME For the man with a conscience, much to be proud about

Weltsch understood that the paper which he edited could become the decisive instrument in re-educating German Jewry and, to a considerable extent, also German Zionism. He introduced a new approach to Zionist journalism. He insisted on reporting critics as well as supporters objectively, and considering the point of view of the British Mandatory

power and of the Palestinian Arabs as much as those of the Zionist leadership. And when, in 1928, there was a swing to the Right in the German Zionist leadership, Weltsch resisted every form of pressure from the political Zionist parties in Palestine and from the new majority in his own German Zionist Organisation. Several conflicts and attempts to

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37 FOR TWENTY

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change the editorship of the paper followed, but Weltsch stuck it out and held to his Weizmannist policy. The veteran Revisionist leader, Richard Lichtheim, one of his principal opponents of those days, wrote later of this period that "what was decisive was not that Weltsch did not reflect the official policy of German Zionism on some of the major issues with which we were faced, but that the high level of the official organ of German Zionism should have been maintained."

NO TIME FOR HUMBUG

In his later years Weltsch has been best known as the London correspondent of Ha'aretz, but in fact he is rather more than a correspondent. Being an editor is in his blood and he is no simple recording machine for facts. He is a man with an enormous conscience which he cannot and would not suppress. And so his reportage from London is in a sense a continuation of his earlier editorials. He insists on looking at both sides of a question; he will continue to have a prima facie doubt about any official statement. He remains as critical of the Israelis as of others. He is impatient with humbug and with illiberal conduct. These are absolute standards for him, not conveniences which can be shed for reasons of state.

THE ONE THAT IS MISSING

At a time when so much that is written is derived either from reasons of state or the desires of officialdom, it was -and still is-exceptionally important that Weltsch should go on. He may have seemed harsh in his judgment at times to those who have the burden and responsibility of policy-making in Israel. Even so. I am sure his critical voice has done them more good than harm. Weltsch has however never confined himself to mere politics. He is the kind of complete journalist who has become so rare. He can turn his hand as tellingly to a critique of Mahler's symphonies as to Ben-Gurion's policies. He maintains a circle of close friends which has ranged wide but which has had at its core men like Leo Baeck and Buber, and when the horrors of our age are forgotten men will still be grateful to Weltsch for having rescued the best of German Jewish writing and study in the annual Leo Baeck Year-books he has edited. The latest one, number five,* has just appeared and is devoted to profiles of twentieth century Jews in Germany. But as was to be expected, one of the most representative of the modern German Jewish profiles is missing.

^{*} YEAR-BOOK V, edited by Robert Weltsch, 416 pp. (East and West Library) 35s,

MOROCCO

HASSAN CHOOSES THE RIGHT

ISTIQLAL HOLDS THE REINS

from our own correspondent

Rabat:

King Hassan II, who last week promulgated a "fundamental law" committing Morocco to a policy of nonalignment and adherence to the principles of Bandung, has ended the internal political crisis which has subsisted since the death of King Mohammed by installing a rightist coalition government of friends and confidantes.

Every single member of the new government is either an individual or the representative of a movement which the left opposition, dominated by the U.N.F.P. ((Union Nationale des Forces Populaires), has rejected absolutely so far as the leadership of any "valid" tendency in national life is concerned.

In resolving to govern without the left, Hassan—in the opinion of western diplomats and other qualified observers here—has provided the opposition with the best weapon they could have hoped for: continued freedom of manoeuvre.

Foreign Ministry open: Despite efforts by the palace and even, at one juncture, by the Istiqlal Party, which emerges as the dominant, though not dominating, force in the coalition, to win over former Economy Minister and U.N.F.P. leader Abderrahim Bouabid, he took the advice of his friends and remained aloof.

The left has already denounced the new coalition as a government of "certain tendencies," not of true political forces. Its demand is for the election of a constituent assembly followed by the drafting of a constitution, a constitution, as one U.N.F.P. leader put it last week, "written by elected representatives, and not by a royal commission."

Hassan has left open the post of Foreign Minister, vacant since his father dismissed the "progressive" Cabinet of Abdallah Ibrahim a year ago. For the general conduct of foreign policy, the King will largely depend upon Ahmed Balafrej, now officially confirmed in his year-long unofficial job of roving diplomatic representative.

Unpopular with Algerians: Through the King and his close association with Balafrej, Istiqlal keeps its firm grip on Moroccan diplomacy and foreign policy which, on the surface, is drifting into closer association with the Arab east. Under the surface, however, it is striving to reinforce the hidden but more vital economic ties with the west, which has a strong representative here in Rabat in the person of the new U.S. Ambassador, Philip Bonsal.

Heading the Cabinet are five new "ministers of state." The first is Allal el-Fassi, venerable leader of the Istiqlal and chief of its traditionalist wing, taking government office for the first time with the new portfolio of Islamic Affairs. He is closely followed in influence by Mohammed Hassan el-Ouazzani, who, like el-Fassi, is a founding father of traditionalist Moroccan nationalism. Now head of the splinter Democratic Constitutional Party, he becomes Minister Without Portfolio.

Fall Ould Omar, Emir of Trarza, a Mauretanian political refugee, becomes, significantly, Minister of State for the Sahara and Mauretania, and has the task of beating the propaganda drums of both Istiqlal and the government itself on Morocco's Sahara claims, claims which are none too popular at the moment with the Algerian negotiators at Evian.

Charges unanswered: More agreeable to them will be the appointment of half-Algerian Dr. Abdelkrim Khatib as Minister for African Affairs. Head of the Agrarian Popular Movement, he has been a sort of contact man with the U.N.F.P.

Hassan's wholehearted endorsement of Istiqlal can be gauged from his reappointment of Mhamed Diouri, Balafrej's 33-year-old son-in-law, as Minister of National Economy and Finance, despite the still unanswered and very damaging charges of graft laid against him by the left

A further cause of satisfaction to both | believed a year ago.



HASSAN II
A turn to the right

the Popular Movement and the F.L.N. is the appointment of Mahjoubi Ahardane, former governor of Rabat and associate of Khatib in the organisation of the Riffian "liberation army" of 1955, as Minister of National Defence.

Day postponed: How long this rightist government can remain in power without the support of the ubiquitous organisation being developed by the U.N.F.P. at every level of national life remains to be seen. It will dominate Moroccan affairs during the months to come. But, for the moment, Hassan's favouring of the right seems to indicate that an officially condoned day of revolution, if it is ever to come at all, is more distant than virtually any political observer here would have believed a year ago.

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WHAT WENT WRONG?

GANG OF JEWISH YOUNGSTERS ON ROBBERY CHARGES

from our own correspondent

New York:

It was 5.30 a.m. on June 6, the dawn of a warm, uneasy day for thousands of Jewish parents throughout the New York area. At that time there were few cars on the broad boulevard linking Queens with the rest of New York, just a newspaper delivery van or two and a milk truck.

Cruising slowly along the street, two policemen in a radio patrol car spotted a couple of youths, one of them with a suspiciously bulging pocket. The constables got out of their car and, dissatisfied with the youths' stories, took them to the police station. The youths gave their names as Mike Friedman, 18, and Gregg Elkenbaum, 16.

The bulging pocket—the police reported—yielded \$650 and the two boys were said to have admitted, under questioning, that they, and a companion, had broken into the Bialy Bakery nearby, forced a safe and cleaned out \$1,000. They allegedly implicated a third youth who was picked up at his home with his share of the \$1,000.

More than 100 crimes: Within a matter of hours, the police had rounded up 17 youths—almost all of them Jewish and coming from good, comfortable homes in the neighbourhood — and charged them with theft, burglary and receiving. The police stated that the youths, four of them university students, had operated a \$100,000 burglary ring that had carried out several hundred burglaries of homes and shops in the past two or three years.

One of the prisoners is alleged to have admitted participating in 250 such crimes, another in more than 100.

The gang had their headquarters in what is known as a luncheonette in the United States—a corner shop that sells newspapers, stationery, toys, some toilet articles and also serves light meals and snacks from breakfast till 11 or 12 o'clock at night. The two young men who ran the luncheonette were charged by the police as being fences for disposal of the stolen goods.

\$1,100 bank account: Headlines such as "Hold Student Ring in \$100,000

Thefts" drove even Kennedy returning stories off the front pages of the newspapers. One of the investigating detectives stated that the youths had operated "in a loosely connected ring. They would work in twos or threes, switching partners from time to time".

"They would drive to a good neighthourhood and go up to a house in which there weren't any lights, or just a nightlight. They would ring a bell. If someone answered they would just pretend that they wanted directions and leave. If there was no one at home, they would go around to the back and break in."

All of the youths lived in one of the best residential sections of the city, many of them living with their families in homes costing well above the \$30,000 mark. Most of them owned cars, and one had a bank account with \$1,100 in it.

"Deepest sympathy": The families of the youths were shocked and stunned. So was the magistrate before whom they were all charged.

"It's a shame", said Magistrate John J. O'Brien who complimented the police on an excellent job. "I intend to make no statement which might seem to prejudge or predetermine the merits of this case. But when you see boys from obviously above average homes, it shocks you".

When one of the defending lawyers said that his client's parents had promised to take him in hand, the judge stormed: "Take him in hand! It seems to me that if this charge is true, it's like locking the barn door after the horse has left". Cooling down, Judge O'Brien said the parents had his "deepest sympathy" but that did not "minimise what these boys have done, if these charges are true".

Moral concept debased: Amongst each other, the parents kept asking: "How did





HADASSAH LEADER ROSE HALPRIN Is there a Zionist answer to this one?

our boys go wrong?" One said, "This is something out of the blue. It's a horrible thing and we still can't understand it". Another commented, "These are good boys who have made a mistake. It looks like it will be a mistake that will remain with them for the rest of their lives."

And another: "What these boys have done is inexcusable. As soon as my son is released I intend to take him to a psychiatrist. There must be something wrong with him. Why didn't he come to me? We were very close and he never had to do without anything".

Assistant District Attorney Gilbert Redleaf contended that the youths all showed "criminal intent. This was a repeated invasion of private homes. I can hardly recall any such case as this. If the charges are true, these boys have a debased moral concept".

Further charges: Why did they do it? "We were bored and restless," one of the boys said. "We wanted to have better clothes and we needed the money for our dates, and for gas for our cars."

Although the youths all seemed to think it was a lark as they were charged at the police station, they sobered up somewhat when they appeared before the magistrate and the full consequences began to dawn up on them. But they started fooling again when a newspaperman shoved a copy of a paper at them. Grabbing it, they shouted "Where's my name? Why am I not mentioned? You're here all right . . .there's your name . . . it's on the inside page . . ."

Some of the youths free on bail were picked up by detectives from another county and taken for arraignment on new counts. It was the first time in many years that so many Jewish youths had run afoul of the law and all at the same time.

A few years back, three Jewish teenagers, also all from good, comfortable homes, were arrested for the brutal and wanton killing of a tramp in a city park. But the percentage of Jewish youngsters involved in juvenile delinquency is negligible.

Solace: What was it, community workers and parents, asked, that had set this group of 14 or 15 Jewish lads on the path of crime? They could seek solace in only one aspect of the affair. In none of the burglary cases revealed before the court had the youthful offenders employed physical violence against their victims.

UNRWA AND THE ARAB REFUGEES

My report in your issue of May 12 on projects for Arab refugees was rather unfair to those voluntary agencies whose donations to the World Refugee Year have been used to assist in refugee rehabilitation. All the projects referred to in that dispatch are being financed by voluntary agencies working for Palestine refugees and not from funds allocated by governments, as reported.

UNRWA has its own vocational training programme, essentially financed by approximately \$4 million, chiefly from World Refugee Year sources both governmental and non-governmental.

These funds are quite apart from the millions of dollars which have been spent on merely keeping the refugees alive. The whole topic will probably be raised at the U.N. General Assembly in the autumn.



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KIBBUTZIM

OUT-DATED IDEALISM OR NATIONAL ASSET? CHANGING OUTLOOK IN ISRAEL'S COMMUNAL SETTLEMENTS

from Henry Near

In certain respects, the "kibbutz" image held by Jews and non-Jews in this country is remarkably accurate: many things about the kibbutz movement's history and internal organisation, its politics (in particular) and a number of its specific problems seem to be very well known.

In other matters, however, the public image is very different from the facts. I propose to discuss some of these misconceptions. In some cases there is, I think, a special reason for them. But one can certainly make two generalisations: the accepted view of the kibbutz is out of date; and it is over-romanticised.

The public image of the kibbutz is of a mainly—even wholly—agricultural settlement, usually situated on the border. Today, however, it would perhaps be more accurate to call the kibbutz a rural rather than an agricultural settlement. Of some 230 settlements, more than 100 have some form of industrial plant or largescale workshop. (One of them-Afikim's plywood factory—has now for the fourth successive year exported over a million dollars' worth of goods.) And the general tendency is to increase the number of kibbutz industries.

Industry instead? Kibbutz industry has existed for the past thirty years or more, but it is only with the increasing emphasis on industrialisation in Israel's economic development that it has become so widespread. The point is significant; for the kibbutzim have always seen as one of their main aims participation in whatever is most essential in the country's development at the time.

Historical examples abound—the roads, the Jezreel Valley, Haifa harbour, the border settlements of the '30's, the settlement of the Negev, are a few. Kfar Hanassi's metal foundry, or Bror Chail's dried food factory, follow in the line of these achievements.

Of course, the kibbutzim are still mainly agricultural, so something should be said about another aspect of the current image. They are, it is thought, romantic survivals of the past. "Agriculture was necessary in the past," it is said. "Now we need industry instead." In this form, the argument is clearly

An eye to exports: Even if anybody seriously suggested abandoning the enormous capital investment already made in Israel's agricultural economy, they would have to take into account her special defence requirements: she may be called on, at very short notice, to rely completely on whatever food she can grow on her own territory. What is more, the purely economic arguments for the promotion of agriculture are very powerful.

The added value of farm produce in 1957 was 74 per cent, as compared with an average of 51 per cent for all exports, and 46 per cent for industrial products. In the Economic Annual for 1960, M. Paran reckons that agricultural produce should, when properly developed, bring in over \$22 million per year. This does not include the well-established and developing citrus fruit crop.

The misconception seems to spring from the change that has come over Israel's agriculture in the past few years. The first job of the kibbutz was to create an Israeli farming community, and ensure that, as far as possible, the country was self-sufficient in foodstuffs. We are very close to that point; indeed, in some



BRITISH YOUNG ZIONISTS IN CONFERENCE What image for them?

crops we have passed it. For some five or six years our attention has been turned to the further problem of fitting our

farming to the export drive.

This has been highlighted in the public view by the problem of local surpluses in certain products—notably vegetables and milk-which have led to the odd view (never very carefully argued) that we have "too much agriculture." The question is not, in fact, whether to grow things, but what to grow, and how to reduce production costs until we are competitive in the world market.

Gladioli to groundnuts: We have to plan carefully the amount of vegetables, eggs and milk we can produce, and increase as far as possible all our exportable crops, which range from gladioli to groundnuts. Equally, the old mixed farm must change in the direction of monoculture—each area concentrating on the crops which its soil can best produce.

In these conditions, the kibbutz, that is the collective settlement, has by reason of its size, the flexibility of both its manpower and its capital resources, and its natural adaptation to a planned economy, a tremendous advantage over the moshav, the co-operative settlement.

A couple of years ago, I was present at a meeting when Ra'anan Weitz (head of the Jewish Agency's Settlement Planning Department) presented a plan for agriculture, of which the above few sentences are a précis. To me, a not particularly well-informed kibbutznik, it was plain common-sense, the formal expression of a tendency already accepted by the kibbutz movement. The moshavniks present saw in it the seeds of personal tragedy-visualising the time, effort and money needed to acquire new skills, and even, in many cases, to reshape completely the economy of a developed smallholding.

Farmer worse off: Even were this question solved, two major problems of Israel's agriculture would still exist. The first is a reflection of the country's economy in general. Capital is scarce. Working capital can only be obtained from official sources (e.g. the Jewish Agencywhich is chronically short of money) or at fantastically inflated interest rates. This applies, in great measure, to industry as well as to agriculture. But in certain respects the farmer's position is worse than the industrialist's.

Much of Israel's industry is still in the infant stage when it can (quite justifiably to my mind) expect considerable Government support, and even protection, in the expectation of improvements to come. In agriculture, we have fifty years' experience and more, and many

kibbutzim have, quite rightly, to take their place in the queue behind younger. more needy, industrial enterprises.

On the other hand, it would be wrong to say that the easier credit conditions for industry are always justified.

Defence considerations: Kibbutzimor moshavim, for that matter-were not simply set down at the most suitable spot for raising crops. The purchases of the J.N.F., the land laws of the Mandatory Government, strategic and political issues, all had—and many still have—a share in fixing their location. For many years Kibbutz Hanita was little more than a military outpost, with virtually no agricultural land. Without it, the borders of Israel would be very different; but for a very long time its economic position was extremely precarious.

There are kibbutzim which today, after 15 years of experimentation, are not yet certain whether the land they live on will be able to support them. They cannotshould not-move. In the simplest strategic sense, we cannot afford to have uncultivated areas in the State of Israel, and particularly on its borders.

Our frontiers are longer, in relation to the area of the country, than any other country in the world. We simply have not the strength, in men or money, to defend them by arms alone. Settlement is the only answer-and its cost is not light, in either economic or human terms.

Zionist argument: Such kibbutzim are, of course, the first to develop industrial projects. They, and indeed, all kibbutzim with developing industries, may well be pointing the way to a social development almost as unique, in the 1960's, as the kibbutz itself---a grouping that is both town and country, a combination of rural industry and mechanised agriculture. To anybody familiar with the vast social and economic problems of the big town-whether it be London, Johannesburg or Tel-Aviv-such an attempt scarcely needs justifying.

Nonetheless, I have on occasion heard the argument "Settlement, yes! But why agriculture? Aren't the development towns good enough?" It is worth saying a few words about this. One of the basic ingredients of Zionism has always been the contention that—to use the accepted cliché-we are making the desert blossom. We have never claimed our State purely by right of conquest; the belief that neglect of the land involved, in a measure, forfeiting the rights over it, has always been part of our moral—and political-argument. Without this, and without the physical settlement of the past 50 years, Israel today would be less than half its size—if, indeed, it existed at all.

It is no less important today, when our



A NEW KIRRUTZ DINING HALL Not what to grow but whether to grow

right to the country is still being challenged, and we are suggesting the development of the Arab wastelands as a possible solution to the refugee problem, that all the land which belongs to us should be exploited to the full.

Arab problems: The question has been presented, in effect, as a historical one, with economic results in the present. But settlement of the outlying areas of the country is one of our most serious tasks today and tomorrow. Many very vulnerable areas-notably in the Negev, on the borders of the Arab Triangle, and near the Jordan Water Project works-have yet to be habited. There is, moreover, a question which is often called "internal security.'

In Central Galilee, Arabs outnumber Jews by ten to one—though 40 per cent of the land is Jewish owned. It is precisely in such predominantly Arab areas that the very touchy problems of security and minority treatment are most clearly seen. In parts such as the limited area of western Galilee where Jewish settlement has brought us to local parity, these problems are far less serious. The Arab sees the Jew as permanently established, having a stake in the land; their children are brought up to recognise each other as a natural part of the landscape; in our day-to-day relationships the hatreds of politics are, if not eliminated, at least minimised.

The maximum possible settlement both in predominantly Arab areas of the country, and in the border areas as yet unsettled is absolutely vital to our security.

(In a second article, Henry Near will deal with the problems of the people who live in the kibbutzim)

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BOOKS

AFRICAN REALITIES

SOCIAL CHANGE IN MODERN AFRICA, edited by Aidan Southall; 337 pp., index; (published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press); 40s.

This selection from the studies presented and discussed at the First International African Seminar held in Kampala two years ago comes to grips in sociological terms with many of the complex problems of group and family relationships in what we have come to call Black Africa. In these terms, it is a specialist book. But there is much fascinating detail of the organisation of African life for the more general reader. Jews will find it difficult not to draw parallels between the patterns of early Jewish migration and settlement and the migration of Africans from country to town, where they move into areas inhabited by members of their own or associated tribes, establishing their own clubs and

burial societies and recognising the leadership only of a headman from their native region.

Not the least interesting of the many studies contributed to this volume is Jean Rouch's survey of second generation migrants in Ghana and the Ivory Coast. This contains the startling information that between October and March each year something like 300,000 workers from neighbouring countries descend on the Ivory Coast to work on the cocoa farms, returning home at the end of the season. The importance of this mass movement not only to the Ivory Coast and Ghana but also to the countries of origin is demonstrated by the fact in the western districts of the Niger countries, 80 per cent of income tax is paid out of money sent back from Ghana and Ivory Coast by the migrants. It is facts like these, rather than pious declarations following conferences of politicians, which spell out the truth of political orientation in modern Africa.

Geoffrey D. Paul

TIME'S CHAOTIC ORDER

THE DEATH OF THE ADVERSARY, by Hans Keilson; 208 pp.; (Oswald Wolff); 18s.

"The time there is not like time is measured here. There, every fraction of a minute revolves on the wheels of another measurement of time. We had no names, no parents and no children. We did not wear things as things are worn here. None was born and none gave birth...." The never to be forgotten words of an Auschwitz camp inmate testifying in the trial of Adolf Eichmann find their echo in this haunting novel, a gripping, subjective study of persecution on a purely emotional plane. It is a book which, despite weaknesses in construction and occasional lapses from the immensely high level of its writing, defies criticism in the normal sense of that term. The author, like the Auschwitz witness, was a victim of Nazi terror. There is a searing sameness in the evidence quoted above and Keilson's observation: "All things become transparent, down to their very foundations. Time's chaotic order, which constantly tends toward temporal categories, is abolished. Past, present and future reveal themselves as an indivisible whole. A totality becomes visible." It is too easy to turn aside from scenes of physical horror. A flip of the page, a jump to the next column, a switch of the knob—any of these relieves us of the know-ledge we wish to deny. But Hans Keilson challenges us on a different level, the level of intellect. And there it is dangerous to turn away.

David Gillon

I REMEMBER MAMA— AND PAPA AND THE BUBBEH

THE WEDDING BAND, by Samuel Yellen; 170 pp.; (Gollancz); 18s.

There is enough schmaltz in Samuel Yellen's 170 pages to roast whole every single one of the current run of "Anglo-Jewish authors". The kneidlach are on the boil, the latkes in the pan, Bubbeh to almost everybody's relief has passed away, Papa has taken to going with other women and Mama gets taken for a sucker by a man she meets in the park. It is incredibly well written in the "lift'em up knock'em down" style of modern American authorship. But it is more than a body can take, even a body hungering for kneidlach and latkes.

G.D.P.

AS THEY ARE

Women of Israel, by Sam Waagenaar; 156 pp. many photographs; (André Deutsch); 18s. 6d.

Most of this book (110 pages) is fortunately taken up by Sam Waagenaar's photographs, which are very good. They show sharpness of observation, imagination and selectivity, and really do portray many of the women of Israel as they are, without any attempt at glamourisation. The stereotyped kibbutz girl and new immigrant are fortunately not shown here. The introduction is of a much lower standard. Since the book was originally published in Holland, it has presumably been translated into English, and not very well. Furthermore, there are a number of incorrect generalisations -Israeli girls do not use makeup, big families are a mustwhich seem to indicate a superficiality of approach.



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MARKS AND SPENCER LIMITED

MASSIVE INVESTMENT IN STORES "ST. MICHAEL" A GUARANTEE OF QUALITY ADVANCES IN MODERN MANUFACTURING TECHNIQUES

The thirty-fifth Annual General Meeting was held on 8th June at 47/67 Baker Street, London, W.1.

Sir Simon Marks, D.Sc., Hon. F.R.C.S. (Chairman and Joint Managing Director) who presided said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: May I take it that following our customary practice, the Directors' Report and Accounts as circulated may be taken as read.

GENERAL SURVEY

I am glad to be able to report the Company's continued progress during the past year. Our sales, at the record figure of £166,500,000, exceeded last year's figure of £148,000,000 by £18,500,000. Profits after tax were £10,295,000, as compared with £9,081,000 in the previous year, an increase of £1,214,000.

This increase both in turnover and in profit continues the remarkable advance which the Company has made since the war, and especially in recent years.

Our sales have increased year by year, because we have always aimed at improving the quality of our merchandise and of the conditions in which they are offered for sale in our stores. Such an aim is a response to the public's increasing demands for better values. In this the public and the Company are at one, and the best symbol of our common interest is our brand name "St. Michael", both because of what it stands for in quality and value, and because of the popularity it enjoys throughout the country.

BUILDING DEVELOPMENT

It has been an integral part of our policy that while improving the quality of our goods, we have at the same time continuously increased the selling space, the convenience, the amenities, and I hope I may say, the pleasure of shopping in our stores. Since the end of the war we have invested nearly £50,000,000, provided out of retained profits, on the general development of the business. The cumulative effect of this massive investment has been that many of our stores have undergone a complete process of transformation in size and appearance.

We are continuously engaged on a fundamental reconstruction of our stores. In the year under review, expenditure on development amounted to £7,650,000. Work was completed on 23 stores, and work is now in progress on 25 more; others will follow as our plans are finalized

We are able to undertake such developments with all the greater confidence because most of our properties are either freehold or freehold in character, in the sense that they are held on very long leases.

"ST. MICHAEL"

Our brand name "St. Michael" continues to grow in popularity. The volume of trading reflects the confidence of the public in the value and quality of "St. Michael" goods. Science, technology and modern manufacturing techniques have enabled us to widen the range and the variety of the merchandise we sell, to the evident appreciation of our customers.

Our technologists keep abreast of scientific developments in the textile field, and in conjunction with the suppliers establish specifications of the construction of the materials to be used in the manufacture of our garments. There follows the study and application of new processes, finishes and dye-stuffs, which make it possible to create new and delightful fabrics, with special performance value

Our executives and their staffs are responsible for the conversion of these materials into garments of style. They are also responsible for planning the production, and for organizing the distribution to stores, of the vast quantity of goods we require.

It is due to this combination of the skills and experience of executives and technologists, working together as a team, that we are able to present so varied a range of fine products which make their apppeal to the millions of customers who shop at our stores week by week.

FOOD DIVISION

In recent years we have devoted much time and thought to applying to the food side of our business the same fundamental approach which we have applied in the field of textiles and I am glad to say that this policy has shown encouraging results. The progress made by our

Food Division, whose turnover last year was £28,500,000, as against £24,500,000 in the previous year, is the best evidence of the public's increasing appreciation of the high quality and freshness of our foodstuffs.

COSTS OF ADMINISTRATION AND SIMPLIFICATION OF PROCEDURES

We continue our efforts to control the costs of administration and to reduce the burden of paper work in our business, and in doing so we have achieved results which have made a considerable contribution to the year's profits.

TRIBUTE TO MANUFACTURERS

It has been my privilege year by year to express our thanks for the invaluable co-operation we receive from our manufacturing friends.

I have already emphasized the importance we attach to modern manufacturing techniques. It is pleasing to record the progress our suppliers are making towards increasing productive efficiency, which is the objective we both have at heart. We gratefully acknowledge the efforts and enthusiasm which our suppliers devote to this task and it is because of their efforts that we are proud to say that our goods are 99% of British manufacture.

TRIBUTE TO STAFF

No speech would be complete without my thanking the staff for their devoted work. Throughout the years it has been our constant concern to give our staff a sense of pride and satisfaction in their labours. We have tried to do so by providing good conditions of employment, the most modern amenities, and proper security against old age, so that they may have confidence in their future.

For all this we are amply repaid by the spirit of loyalty and devotion which animates the staff in the stores and at Head Office, and on behalf of the Board I wish to thank them most warmly and sincerely.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted.

MARKS AND SPENCER LIMITED

10 YEAR STATEMENT YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH 1952 1953 1954 1955 1956 1957 1958 1959 1960 1961 TURNOVER PROFIT BEFORE TAXATION 4,996,000 6,741,000 7,867,000 9,268,000 10,130,000 12,806,000 14,143,000 15,059,000 17,806,000 20,495,000 TAXATION 2.690,000 4,275,000 4,850,000 4.800.000 5.175.000 7.200.000 7.950,000 7,350,000 8,725,000 10,200,000 NET PROFIT AFTER TAXATION 2,306,000 2,466,000 3.017.000 4,468,000 4,955,000 5,606,000 6,193,000 7,709,000 9.081.000 10.295.000 DIVIDENDS (NET) 1,005,000 1,282,000 1,675,000 2,365,000 2,660,000 3.181.000 3,441,000 4:132,000 5,384,000 6,381,000 PROFIT RETAINED 1.251.000 1.071.000 1.242.000 1 983 000 2,145,000 2,230,000 2,352,000 3,277,000 3,527,000 3.688.000 DEPRECIATION 714,000 765,000 794,000 660,000 693,000 876,000 904.000 944,000 943,000 1,015,000

ISRAELI ENTERPRISE

A Jewish Observer Panorama

INCREASING EXPORTS TO BRITAIN

A LOOK AT THE PICTURE FROM THE RECEIVING END

from Yohanan Ramati

London:

Great Britain has consistently been the biggest customer for Israel goods, and one of Israel's largest suppliers. Indeed, when it is considered that Israel's imports from the United States and West Germany are swollen by the terms of the Grant-in-Aid and Reparations agreements, Britain is found to supply more of the Jewish State's "free" imports than any other country.

During 1960, Israel's exports to Britain totalled about \$35.4 million f.o.b. (£12.6 million). Imports from Britain reached some £21.1 million, c.i.f. (though according to Board of Trade figures, their value f.o.b. British ports totalled only £15.2 million, and the discrepancy seems on the large side). Let us take a closer look at

this volume of trade with Israel.

One of the interesting characteristics of Israel's exports to Britain is their increasing diversification. Gone are the days when Jaffa oranges and grapefruit constituted the overwhelming majority of Israel goods sold here, though they still account for just over half of them.

Coffee and macaroni: There has been much progress with plywood, textiles, clothing, polished diamonds, potash, bromine, calcium carbide and many products of the Israel food industry. The big sales of citrus juices, concentrates and other citrus products have undoubtedly benefited from the excellent name of the fresh Israel fruit. But even items which must face heavy competition from estab-

ISRAEL'S EXPORTS TO BRITAIN, 1960

(\$ thousands)

	(+	
Citrus fruit	18,989	Cotton material 303
Groundnuts	375	Cotton yarns 211
Melons	367	Knitwear 180
Potatoes	286	Nylon stockings 171
Eggs (mainly frozen)	125	Raincoats 136
Grapes	123	Cotton clothing 46
Onions and garlic	95	Woollen clothing 23
Flowers and flower bulbs	36	Bathing suits 20
Avocadoes	20	Towels 18
Tomatoes	19	Other textiles and clothing 47
Green peppers	12	TOTAL—TEXTILES &
TOTAL—AGRICULTURAL	20.447	CLOTHING 1,155
TOTAL MORICOLIUM	,,	Potassium 662
		Bromine and bromine
Cotton and linters	129	1
Raw wool	43	0.1: 1:1
TOTAL—AGRICULTURAL		r /: 11
RAW MATERIALS	172	3.61 11 1 1 1 1
		D1
63:4	1,316	TOTAL CIPELITOALS
Citrus juices	1,310	TOTAL—CHEMICALS 1,124
Citrus concentrates	972	Diamonds (polished) 3,536
Citrus slices	620	Plywood and panels 3,210
Other citrus products	359	Plastic serviettes 41
Instant coffee	156	Artificial teeth 25
Pickled vegetables	91	Other industrial goods 52
Wines and spirits	60	TOTAL—VARIOUS
Tomato products	60	INDUSTRIAL
Meat conserves	42	PRODUCTS 6,864
Chocolate, sweets, halva	39	THE 1 11 1 11 110
Edible oil	38	Bibles and religious articles 118
Macaroni, etc	34	Books and souvenirs 40
Melons in syrup	257	TOTAL—CRAFTWARE 158
Other food products		G D A N D T O T A I 25/117
TOTAL—FOOD PRODUCTS	5,334	GRAND TOTAL 35,417

ISRAEL

SPECIAL TOURS 1961

AUGUST 3rd
Israel Riviera Tour

SEPTEMBER 7th
Rosh Hashanah Tour

OCTOBER 12th
Fully Conducted Zionist
Sponsored Tour

OCTOBER 30th
M.S. "Moledet" Sea Tour

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lished brands—such as Elite instant coffee or Osem macaroni—are doing surprisingly

Certain attitudes are typical of the British market, differentiating it sharply from the American and some others. For instance, it is more difficult to gain a foothold, but easier to maintain it.

British importers tend to conservatism in the sense that, if they are satisfied with their supplier, they will often not change him in order to buy from a newcomer at a slightly cheaper price. Of course, this presupposes complete satisfaction with quality, delivery on time,

Future for knitwear: This policy does not help would-be exporters to Britain, but it does mean that once your products have a good name you are more likely to keep the market. On the whole, it seems sounder business practice than the perennial experimentation involved in always ordering from the cheapest supplier.

It will be noticed from the table that the diversification process mentioned above has still some way to go. Citrus (\$19 million), citrus products (\$4.2 million), diamonds (\$3.5 million), plywood and panels (\$3.2 million), as well as potassium and bromine (\$0.9 million)

ISRAEL'S EXPORTS FROM BRITAIN, 1960

(£ thousands) Machinery (not electrical) ... Road vehicles and aircraft ... 2.075 Chemicals 1,463 Iron and steel 1,185 Electrical machinery, equipment and appliances 1.140 Miscellaneous metal products 766 Non-ferrous metals 573 Scientific, photographic and optical instruments ... 532 Wool and animal hair 502 Postal packages 390 Petroleum, etc. 304 Non-metallic mineral products 179 Miscellaneous textiles (excluding items listed separately below) 142 Fruit and vegetables ... 98 . . . Rubber goods 80 Paper and cardboard 79 Beverages 59 Fibre yarns ... 56 Woollen yarns and materials 54 Sanitary fixtures and furniture 48 Silver, platinum and jewellery 40 Fertilisers and minerals 35 Leather and leather products 35 Sugar and sugar products ... 24 Cotton yarn ... 20 Animal and vegetable oils ... 19 Live animals ... 13 Other commodities 330 TOTAL 15,209 GRAND

account together for 87 per cent of Israel's total exports to Britain.

But there are prospects that this may change, with the development of new lines of agricultural and textile exports. One of London's very famous firms already uses Ata cotton materials for clothing manufacture. Exports of knitwear also seem to have a good future, the high standards of the goods supplied having met with appreciation here.

Common Market hazards: Israel imports from England a large variety of manufactured goods and raw materials (especially for the metal industries). The following table gives the details. Figures are f.o.b. British ports, in thousands of pounds sterling. To arrive at the cost c.i.f. Israel, 10 to 25 per cent must be added, depending on the commodity supplied.

The question of Britain's joining the European Common Market is, of course, of very great interest to Israel, since it would put Israel products at a disadvantage compared with similar west European goods (in addition to the already existing handicap compared with Commonwealth goods, which benefit from imperial preference). Nevertheless there are reasons to hope that a good volume of trade will be maintained even in that eventuality.

An important mission has been to Israel to investigate whether this country is a good potential supply centre for certain products imported by Britain. It consisted of Mr. Preston (Managing Director of Peter Robinson Ltd.), Mr. Weyl (Managing Director of Richard Shops) and Mr. Kern (Managing Director of Digby Morton). The impressions and information obtained by this delegation may exert some influence on the future development of certain Israel exports to Britain.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Despite long years of practical experience, many of Israel's official bodies (in which the Jewish Agency must be included) have not yet learned that oldstyle propaganda is out, killed by the demand of journalists and public alike for information.

There are, of course, one or two honourable exceptions, prime amongst them Israel's Ministry of Commerce and Industry which has just published another issue of the Israel Economic Bulletin. The only unfortunate part of this enterprise is the name, which promises a statistical white paper.

In fact, utilising an attractive newspaper format, this is an excellent survey

of new and interesting developments is the Israeli economy. The June issue in cludes features not only on Israel's chair stores and the new Jerusalem super market, but also authoritative features or export prospects in West Africa and in vestment possibilities in Israel.

Copies can be obtained direct from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry Economic Publications, Jerusalem, Israel

IN MEMORIAM

HALPERN.—Treasured memories of our dearly belove son Joseph taken from us ל"עדו און און משנה משפל 20 years. Your loving Mummie and Dac 40 Monson Road, N.W.10.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Sunday, June 18
EDGWARE ZIONIST SOCIETY. Rosh Pinah Schoo
Mowbray Road, Film show for members and friends
"Hill 24 Doesn't Answer", 8 p.m.
Sunday, June 25
MAPAM OPEN FORUM. 104 Nightingale Road, E.:
Symposium on "50 Years of the Kibbutz Movement'
Speakers: M. Orbach, Mrs. S. Yaari, P. Merha
and N. Rose. All Welcome, 8 p.m.

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A MEMORIAL TABLET TO THE 6,000,000 JEWS MASSACRED BY THE NAZIS

will be unveiled at the

Nelson Street Sphardish and Philpot Street Amalgamated

Synagogues

NELSON STREET, E.1.

at 3.30 p.m.

on Sunday, June 18th, 1961

Addresses by Rabbi Sz. Szpetman and Sir Barnett Janner, M.P.,
President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews

> Tablet to be unveiled by Mr. H. Oberman

Service will be conducted by The Rev. D. Friedman

JPA-JNF NEWS

Prepared by JPA/JNF Public Relations Department, 4 St. George Street, Hanover Square, W.1. Hyde Park 2286/7

LOURIE'S "SUNDAY BREAK" IN BOURNEMOUTH

Busy though he must have been with a week of visitors who included Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, Minister of Trade Pinhas Sapir and Foreign Minister Golda Meir, it was nevertheless a relaxed Arthur Lourie who travelled down to Bournemouth last Sunday week to be present at what proved to be a most successful launching of the local community's J.P.A. effort.

The Ambassador and his wife began their Bournemouth programme with a reception at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Solomon to meet local campaign leaders. Later in the day they attended a dinner at the Majestic Hotel, arranged by Mrs. Fay Schneider, that saw a large attendance and prompted Mr. Solomon to declare that they would have no difficulty in reaching their target of £15,000. Mr. Solomon, who is president of the Bournemouth J.P.A. committee, was able to announce at the dinner that a first contribution of £10,000 had so far been achieved.

Mr. Lourie spoke of the Eichmann trial. Everything revealed there was eloquent evidence of the necessity to establish Israel in 1948 as an historic act of justice, he said. But no one should be misled into believing that the partnership between the State and world Jewry would be of short duration. "We shall need your help for many years to come."

Between Jews there was no need for

diplomacy, Mr. Lourie went on. In the task of rebuilding the homeland and planning the future of the nation, all Jews acted as brothers. Other speakers during the dinner at the Majestic were Rabbi J. Indech, C. Speller, J.P. and Sam Goodman, a past chairman in Bournemouth. Toasts were by A. Collins, treasurer, and Rev. S. A. Solomons. Rabbi I. Broch recited Grace.

THE CHEQUE THAT BOUNCED

A strange story that began in Scotland with a contribution to the Arab Development Society for its work among Arab refugees has brought an unexpected £5 gift to J.P.A.

A Jewish citizen of St. Andrews, Fife, R. J. Swan, had sent a cheque in response to this appeal with the hope which he expressed in a letter that the Arab Development Society would now be instrumental in bringing about resettlement of the refugees. Mr. Swan had his cheque returned, with a note that the "Arab Development Society feel obliged to decline it in view of the existing situation in the Middle East."

Now the cheque has reached Great Russell Street, and Mr. Swan has recommended the Society, which has made a public appeal for support, to read "Major Barbara."



Bournemouth's president Henry Solomon (left) with Mme. Lourie, Mrs. Solomon, the Ambassador and Mrs. Schneider

A TIME TO PLANT



Moriz Fleischmann, a witness at the Eichmann trial, plants a tree in his own grove in Israel. Containing 1,000 trees, this grove was a 70th birthday tribute by the St. John's Wood and Maida Vale Zionist Society, and is situated near Ben Shemen.

MANCHESTER ACCLAIMS NEW MUSICAL

After glowing notices in Manchester, the new American musical, "Bye Bye Birdie," comes to London with a send-off in the form of a Gala Performance by the Charities Aid and Junior Blue and White committees, two active Younger J.N.F. groups.

Starring a convincing Marty Wilde and the dramatic American dancer, Chita Rivera, not to mention Angela Baddeley, the Guardian says that "this is the American musical as it was before the Bernstein revolution. All its virtues-the smoothness, the bright toothpaste glamour, the sheer professionalism—which we thought had long ago become mere stereotypes are made to work again." According to the Manchester Evening Chronicle it is headed for a long run. "Chita Rivera has a special magic, this supple, slender girl whose dancing limbs are as expressive as her mobile face," the critic wrote.

The Younger Commissions' Gala will take place on June 29. For ticket details see advertisement in this issue.

FINCHLEY CANVASS

Finchley's third canvassing week increased subscribers by 25 per cent and added £800 to the total, which now stands at £16,400.

JPA-JNF NEWS

HONOURS LIST: BARONY FOR J.P.A. PRESIDENT

The news of the conferment of a Barony on Sir Simon Marks, announced in the Birthday Honours List, will give particular satisfaction to all in the J.P.A. movement, of which he is president.

Sir Simon's leadership of the fundraising movement goes back some 45 years, and is a record of service unmatched anywhere in the world. The man who came under the spell of Chaim Weizmann in Manchester before the First World War saw at once that the Zionist experiment could not survive without the creation of a financial arm to produce income with all the certainty of a state's annual budget. He was the principal figure in a triumvirate whose other members were his brothers-in-law Israel Sieff and Harry Sacher, and together they devised and launched special fund-raising programmes to meet the changing situation in Palestine and keep the work of reconstruction going.

They carried these through in times when the political situation was overcast and association with Zionism encountered the displeasure of many who considered themselves the leaders of Anglo-Jewry. Under Sir Simon Marks, the Anglo-Jewish community developed a machinery of voluntary aid for refugee settlement which became the pattern adopted in America when the U.S.A. eventually assumed its predominant financial role.



Sir Simon Marks

Sir Simon's personal influence upon the character of Israeli educational and social institutions was strong because of his profound understanding of the conditions necessary to make the country thrive. He is a pioneer in the greatest sense of the term, and at 73 he wins recognition in a form that will delight his untold admirers in Britain, in Israel and throughout the world.

A £20,000 PROMISE

SOUTHPORT BALL CLIMAX

Maurice Myers of Southport is to make a contribution of £20,000 for a special J.N.F. project in Israel. This announcement was made by J. Smush, honorary president of the Southport J.N.F. Commission, during the course of the Blue and White Ball which took place on Sunday, May 28. The announcement was heard with great enthusiasm by the 200 guests present and Mr. Myers received their congratulations for what is probably the largest contribution towards the development of Israel ever received in Southport.

Sidney Abelson, Commission chairman, made a brief speech in which he listed the small band of workers who keep J.N.F. activities to such a high pitch of efficacy in this centre. Among them were Raie and Harry Green, functions chairman Bernard Forster, Junior J.N.F. chairman Michael Pollick and Jean Gordon who was responsible with a group of young lady helpers for a most attractive tombola.

Rabbi Dr. A. E. Silverstone welcomed the guests and the Rev. E. Cahn thanked the chairman. The well-known folk singer, Marthe Schlamme, entertained during the evening.

Mr. Myers, a familiar figure in Jewish circles in the north of England, has made many gifts to local charities and to causes in Israel. His total benefactions have reached £40,000 in the past ten years.

This latest gift culminates a lifetime of service that has seen Mr. Myers' endowments transformed in terms of trees in the Queen Elizabeth Coronation Forest, an ambulance for Magen David Adom and amenities for students at the Hebrew University. He has also been extremely generous to institutions for the aged and needy in Harrogate, Leeds and Liverpool.

YOUNGER COMMISSIONS TOURING AGAIN

A really exciting holiday in Israel awaits Younger Commission members who will be joining this year's tour on August 6, returning August 20.

YOUNGER J.N.F. COMMISSIONS ANNOUNCE A

GALA PERFORMANCE OF

BYE BYE BIRDIE

Thursday, 29th June, at 7.30 p.m. at Her Majesty's Theatre, Haymarket,

London W1
(In aid of the J.N.F. Charitable Trust)

Tickets: Stalls 5gns: 3gns: 2gns: 30/-Dress Circle 5gns: 3 gns: 30/-

Applications should be addressed to:

Miss J. Orlans, Jewish National Fund, 65, Southampton Row, W.C.1. (MUSeum 6111) The cost will be £130 and this includes air travel, hotel accommodation and sight-seeing. Those who travelled with the Younger Commissions last year will recall that, although the large number of 90 participated, the entire operation went off like clock-work and was climaxed by a long interview with Prime Minister Ben-Gurion.

This tour, in addition to the highlights that one expects when travelling through the Jewish State, will also include an optional air trip to Eilat at a small extra cost, to give the travellers an opportunity to visit the copper mines at Timna and a boat trip on the Red Sea. This excursion may be extended by travelling one way by coach.

Technical arrangements are in the hands of Peltours. We understand there are only a few places left so applicants should contact S. Lowensohn at J.N.F. Head Office, 65 Southampton Row, W.C.1, without delay.

IN THE SEFER BARMITZVAH

Victor Royston Young
Peter Stewart Michael Babot
Roy Lewis
Beverley Stewart Morris
John Richard Newgas
William Kintish
Geoffrey Schiffeldrin
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ANGLO-JEWRY'S BARMITZVAH TRIBUTE TO ISRAEL

The 13th Anniversary Forest

THIRD LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

The undermentioned have planted a minimum of 13 trees in the Barmitzvah Forest. Their participation is deeply appreciated and their names are being included in the Commemorative Volume for presentation to President Ben-Zvi

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